## GOVERNOR'S MESSAGE.

THE STATE FINANCES.

Entire State Debt Less than \$30,000,000.

Debts Contracted in Gold Should Be Paid in Gold.

New York City and Its "Great Wrongs."

What the Governor Would Do About Them.

HIS IDEA OF A NEW CHARTER.

Free Streets and Free Processions.

Practical Hints to Quarantine Grumblers.

Constitutional Amendments, State and National.

Ominous Silence on Federal Topics.

A CLEVER RECORD FOR THE YEAR.

EXECUTIVE CHAMBER, ALBANY, Jan. 2, 1872. TO THE LEGISLATURE:-

It is my duly to make known to you the general condition of the State and to recommend to you such matters as I judge expedient. STATE DEET.

The unpaid principal of the war bounty debt was, on the 30th September last, \$16,887,206. This portion of our debt will, by the annual tax provided by the terms of the act authorizing the loan, be paid in full in about five years. It was contracted and is to be paid in our present legal tender

The residue of the State debt, which amounts to \$12,505,495, was contracted before the war, in id, and the honor of the State and good faith demand that it shall be paid, both principal and Interest, in gold coin. It is to be paid (except \$48,860, loan of credit to the Long Island Railroad) out of revenues pledged for the purpose, and not by taxanon, unless the sinking funds "snall prove insufficient to enable the State, on the credit of such funds, to procure the means to satisfy the claims of the creditors of the State as they become

Of this last-mentioned species of debt \$2,257,900 of principal will be due on the 1st of July next, and \$847,500 of principal will be due on the 1st of January, 1873. The Comptroller is of the opinion, in which I concur, that there will be no difficulty in obtaining the means of meeting these payments, on the credit of the sinking funds, as authorized by

The entire State dept was, on the 30th of September last, \$29,482,702, the amount of principal paid in the last year being \$2,926,441.

TAXES. The S ale tax levied the past year is five mills and eventy-nine one hundred and twentieths of a mill. Of this tax two mills were required for the annual payment on the war bounty debt, one mill and a arter for the support of the public schools, three

quarter for the support of the public schools, threeeighths of a mill to meet payments for work on the
new Capitol, seventy-nine one hundred and twentieths of a mill for canais and one mill and threeeighths of a mill for general purposes. The total
yield of the State tax is \$11,613,043.

The new Capitol commissioners report to me that
of the \$650,000 appropriated by the Legislature at
its list session they have expended \$343,631 up to
the 22d day of November last; making with what has
been previously reported, about two milhous thus
lar expended on the construction of the building,
sudependent of about six hundred and fity thousand
dollars haid for land.

The quantity of sait from the Onondaga sait springs inspected during the last fiscal year was 5,579,193 bushels. This shows a decrease of production, compared with the previous year, of 272,054 bushels. The net revenue to the State has been \$26,666, which is \$7,254 less than that of the previous year.

On the 1st of October last 69 banks were doing business under the banking law of this State. Buring the fiscal year circulating notes to the amount of \$47,777 have been destroyed by the department. Twelve banks have been credited with lost circulation to the amount in all of \$64,725, the time for redeeming the same, after the usual legal notice, having expired.

The amount of circulation oustanding, including that of incorporated banks, banking associations

The amount of circulation oustanding, including that of incorporated banks, banking associations and individual bankers, was, on the 1st of October last, \$2,141,435. Of this amount, the sum of \$1,383,525 is secured by deposition focks, morigages and cash. The residue, being circulation issued by incorporated banks in existence prior to the passage of the general banking law, is, of course, not secured by any deposit in the bank department.

SAVINGS BANKS.

There were, on the 1st of July inst, 143 savings banks doing business in the State, with assets to the amount, in the aggregate, of \$256,250,594. These assets may now be estimated, upon the ratio of increase of the rear before, at \$2,0,00,000. The

Three were, on the lat of July and, 145 savings banas doing usuates an the Satto July and the Tales assets may now be estimated, upon the rather of the cases of the rear before, at \$2-40,000. The number of persons having deposits in these natifies. The property of the depositors. The object kept in key should be security more than inguitable to the property of the depositors. The object kept in key should be security more than inguitable to obtain the control of the Jegsiature to the control of the property of the depositors. The object kept in key should be security more than inguitable to obtain the control of the Jegsiature to the property of the depositors. The object kept in key should be security more than inguitable to control of the Jegsiature to the property of the depositors. The object kept in key should be security more than inguitable to control of the Jegsiature to the property of the depositors. The object kept in key should be security more than inguitable to control of the Jegsiature to the property of the depositors. The object kept in key should be security more than inguitable to control of the Jegsiature to Jegsiature to Jegsiature to Jegs

er protection of are policy holders in for-eign insurance companies. 1,300,500 or protection of life policy holders in for-eign insurance companies. 893,000

management.

I visited, as usual, all the prisons during the past year, for the purpose of hearing applications from the convicts for pardon or commutation of punishment. More than eight hundred applications for pardon or commutation have been made to me during the year. Eighty-four pardons, twenty-nine commutations and five reprieves have been granted. I shall, in a few days, submit to you, as has been my practice every year, a statement of the patticulars of these cases, including the reasons which, in each instance, have induenced my action.

action.

CHARITIES AND ASYLUMS.

The annual report of the Commissioners of Charities will give detailed information of the condition of the several State charities. I trust you will continue to provide for the early completion of the State lunatic asylums now being constructed, so as to afford additional room for the insane poor—to the end that, within a short period, all of this class may be removed from the county poor houses. I again recommend, as I did last year, an inquiry into the condition of pauper children in the several counties, with a view to providing for their removal, if found expedient, to proper asylums. expedient, to proper asylums.

September 30, 1870. \$10,658,576
Total exponditures 9,588,356
Amount paid for teachers' wages 6,678,377
Amount pud for school houses, repairs and 1,587,276 furniture..... Estimated value of school houses and

Number of persons attending normal

For particulars and for suggestions relating to the For particulars and for suggestions relating to the administration of our common school system you are respectfully referred to the annual report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, under whose care the educational adairs of the State have been so ably administered. I ask for the schools the most liberal legislative encouragement.

STATE MILITIA.

The State milita, known, now, as the "National Guard of the State of New York," numbers about twenty-four thousand officers, non-commissioned chicers and privates. The details will be made known in the report of the Adjutant General. This valuable force, essential to the security of public

officers and privates. The details will be made known in the report of the Adjutant General. This valuable force, essential to the security of public order, ought to be generously sustained by the Legislature. A contract has been made, in accordance with authority vested in the Governor by the law of last session, for supplying the force with breechloading rides.

The Adjutant General has made very satisfactory progress in oblaining the adjustment and allowance of claims of the State against the general government for expenditures in the late war. At the time he came into office, the balance of the claims which had then been presented to the accounting officers of the Treasury of the United States and were on file with them, unsettled, was \$932,132, or which it had been estimated not more than fifty per cent could be recovered, owing to the informalities of vouchers, and irregularities occuring in the burry of the times when the expenditures were made; and it was suggested that the Comptroller should employ a special agent for the adjustment of these claims, to be compensated by a percentage upon the amount which should be recovered. The Adjutant General with my approval placed the matter in the special charge of Colonel Stonehouse, the Assistant Adjutant General, who was familiar with the origin of the claims, and department, to assist him. There has been recovered arrendy the sum of \$692.279, with the well assured was familiar with the origin of the claims, and detailed Capitali Butier, of the Inspector General's department, to assist him. There has been recovered
arrendy the sum of \$622.729, with the well assured
prospect of an early adjustment of the Whole balance left unsettled on the 1st January, 1869 (except
certain items of interest on temporary bonds issued
by the State which will require Congressional
netton), and the prospect also of establishing the
validity of further claims upon the government,
Additional claims to the amount of \$364,107 have
aiready been presented to the Treasury Department,
and others to about the same amount will very soon
be ready for presentation. The Legislature at
its last session, passed a concurrent resolution authorizing me to appoint a special agent to
prepare and collect these claims, and to award to
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prepare and collect these claims, and to award to
prepare and collect the amount collected as I
might deem just and proper. I have done nothing
under this resolution, being satisfied that the claims
can be adjusted and collected quite as rapidly
through the clerical force of the Adjutant General's
office, and, of course, at much less cost to the
State.

office, and, of course, at much less cost to the State.

QUARANTINE, &C.

During the past year 22? vessels arriving at the port of New York have been quarantined on account of stekness which had occurred on board of them, Upon these vessels at their port of departure, on the passage, and after their arrival at quarantine, there were 125 cases of contagious and infectious diseases and 109 deaths.

During the quarantine season, to wit, from the first day of April to the first day of November, 466 vessels, which arrived from ports infected with yellow fever, were detained in the Lower Bay for observation. During the same period 542 vessels from suspected ports were examined at Lower Quarautine and placed under observation for a period of from two to five days.

These constitute the total number of vessels detained during the year beyond the time actually necessary for examination. Out of this number is verty-five discharged their cargoes under quarantine, being but little over one per cent of the whole number of arrivals from foreign ports during the year.

Seventy of the vessels thus detained were found

adopted. At abuses, if any be found, should be remedicit; but the inconvenience to a few by the detention imposed upon only one vessel out of a hundred is not to be weighed against the protection amount of the the state against the protection amount of the State against infectious diseases. There have been for many years and under all administrations complaints in the press against the Health Officer and also against the Harbor Masters of the Port of New York. No proof has been adduced before me of maladministration on the part of the present officers. In one instance, prior to December 15, 1871, charges were preferred against a harbor master, which were withdrawn. On the 15th of December, 1871, charges were preferred in another case, which are now under examination. In the case of the Health Officer one complaint has been laid before me. Although the law gave me no power in the matter the Health Officer promptly responded to my request for explanations. The complaint was found to be connected not with his office proper, nor with his fees, but with certain rates established for contributions to the support of the hospitals at Quarantine, and the injustice complaints at Quarantine, and the injustice complaints of was promptly cured. Under the law, as it was established in 1863 and as it now stands, the Governor has no power to remove the Health Officer (and appoint another), even after a formal

then be provided against abuses without the deligible to a formal investigation.

In the single instance of the presentation to me of charges against the Health Officer I took the occasion, in referring the matter to the Commissioners of Quarantine, to request them to inquire into alleged abuses in quarantine administration, giving merchants and others opportunity of being heard. I have received their report, dated December II, 1871, which, with a communication from the Health Officer relating thereto, will be duly transmitted to the Legislature for its information.

It is proper to say that if citizens who know of and can prove official misconduct on the part of public officers fail to present the charges and proofs to the Governor, the reponsibility for continued abuses rests upon them. The Governor, in such matters, acts in a quasi-judicial capacity, and he

abuses rests upon them. The Governor, in such matters, acts in a quasi-judicial capacity, and he cannot, any more times cours, entertain charges made simply through the public press.

Nor should it be lorgoiter, that if extra compensation is paid to Harbor Masiers it may be too often due to the eagerness of owners and consignees of vessels to get the advantage one over another in the occupancy of wharves.

The Governor is always ready to do his duty and to remove a guilty party when he has the power.

The Governor is always ready to do his duty and to remove a guilty party when he has the power. Merchants and others fall to do theirs when any of them pays bribe to a public officer or neglect to expose and bring to justice whoever demands or accepts one.

I recommend a thorough examination of the official acts of the Heatts Officer and Harbor Masters, and such amendments to existing laws as may be necessary to put an end to such evils as may be shown to exist.

IMMIGRATION.

may be shown to exist.

IMMIGRATION.

The number of arrivals of immigrants in the port of New York this year is 229,005, an increase as compared with last year of 17,000.

REVISION OF STATUTES.

A report from the commissioners for revising the statutes may be expected in an early day in the session showing what progress has thus far been made in their work.

CANALS.

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CANALS.

The surplus revenues of the canals for the past year have been nearly double those of the previous year, aithough for four months of the year 1870 the former higher rates of toil prevailed; the contribution to the sinking fund for the fiscal year ending 35th September last being \$981,580, against \$589,974 contributed the year beiore. The expenditures have been very materially reduced. The collicial reports of the Comptroiter and Auditor will show the details of expenditure and revenue. It is the unanime is testimony of those engaged in business upon them that the canals are in better order than at any previous period. My opinions as to the true policy of the State, with reference to its canals, have been so fully expressed in three successive annual messages that it is not necessary here to repeat them. The policy of low toils, which, when first recommended, met with strong opposition, is now, by general consent, admitted to be wise. The season of mavigation of 1871 was filteen days shorter than that of 1870, yet there was an increase of toils to the extent of \$487,722.

I have received a letter from the President of the United States cailing my attention to the twenty-seventh article of the recent treaty between Great Britain and the United States, which article is in these words, to wit:—

Britain and the United States, which article is in these words, to will:—

ARTICLE 27.—The government of Her Britannic Majesty engage to urge upon the government of the Pominion of Canada to accure to the citizens of the United States he use of the Welland, St. Lawrence and other canais in the Dominion, on terms of equality with the imbabitants of the Dominion; and the government of the United States engages that the subjects of Her Britannic Majesty shall enjoy the use of the St. Clair Fiais Canai on terms of equality with the imbabitants of the United States, and further engages to urge upon the State governments to secure to the subjects of Her Britannic Majesty the use of the several State canals connected with the navigation of the lakes or rivers traversed by or contiguous to the boundary line between the possessions of the high contracting parties on terms of equality with the imbabitants of the United States.

The President requests such legislation on the part of this State as may be necessary to carry out, on our canals, this provision of the treaty. My impression is that montaing exists in our State laws now to forbid the subjects of another country using our canals on terms of full equality with the citizens of the United States. I recommend an inquiry on your part on this point, and the prompt passage of any laws which may be necessary for the trifliment of the undertaking made by the federal government.

GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS.

The disastrous fire at Chica; o destroyed the valuable public law library of that city. It was always open to the free use of members of the Bar from other States, and contained complete sets of the reports of this State and of the Britain. Upon being informed of this loss by a committee of the Bar of Chicago engaged in the work of restoring the library, and upon their application for such assistance as this State could give, I took the responsibility, in view of the intimate business relations existing between the States of

being informed of this loss by a committee of the Bar of Chicago engaged in the work of restoring the library, and upon their application for such assistance as this State could give, I took the responsibility, in view of the intimate business relations existing between the States of limois and New York, of causing to be sent to them the statutes, the reports and the digests of this State, complete, as a donation from New York, knowing that the need was pressing for the work of restoration being promptly effected. In doing this I was careful not to incur any liability in behalf of the State, it, nevertheless, respectfully ask that you make an appropriation to cover the cost of this gift. Some of the books having been furnished by the State Library, from extra copies in their possession, the total amount expended will not exceed sixteen hundred doilars.

Full rights of inheritance are accorded to the children of American male citizens, without reference to the nationality of the mother, although the children of American male citizens, without reference to the nationality of the mother, although the children of American woman married to an alien, are, if they be born abroad, defined like rights. I recommend that the disability of the latter class of persons to inherit be removed by statute.

I saugest for your careful consideration, especially in view of the several treaties made between the United States and foreign governments in respect to naturalization and expatriation, whether it would not be wise to remove all disabilities of aliens relating to the acquisition, possession and transmission of real estate. In several of the States of the Union these disabilities no longer exist, and in England they were removed by statute passed May 12, 1870, the day before the date when the treaty between England and the Union States relating to naturalization was signed. If you should pass a law removing all these disabilities the suggestion last made with reference to chindren born abroad of American women will have becom

better so than to have innocent persons suffer imprisonment in order that even the guilty may be convicted.

I recommend, for the third time, that power be conferred upon the Oyer and Terminer, or upon the Supreme Court at General Term, to grant new trials upon the merits or upon newly discovered evidence, in cases of conviction before the Oyer and Terminer. The courts of sessions, which are inferior tribunals, have time power in cases of conviction before them. A person wrongfully convicted in Oyer and Terminer, no matter how clear his innocence may be shown by newly discovered evidence, has no remedy save a pardon from the Executive.

I recommend that the laws relating to the insane be revised. As they are now any two justices of the peace, upon the certificate of two physicians, may deprive a man of his liberty on the ground of timacy, and order him to be confined in a lunatic asylum. A bill was passed at the last session of the Legislature upon this subject, but some of its provisions seemed to me to be objectionable, and it was generally objectionable in that its operation was limited to the city of New York. For these reasons I withheld my approval from it. There can be no doubt that there is room for great abuses under the law as it stands. I recommend that all physicians who may grant certificates of lunacy and all magistrates who issue an order of commitment to an asylum be required, under heavy penalities, to report their action at once to the centry junge of the county within which the order was made, and that all superintendents of public and private lunatic asylums be required, under the penalities, to re-

forthwith the arrival of every patient at their respective establishments to the county judge of the county whence the patient was sent; that the county judge be required to investigate the case summarily, and construer and the proceedings, and that he be empowered, at any time, on his own motion or on the application of any one interested in an alleged unatic, to reopen the hearing of a case, and to conduct such rehearing, with or without the aid of a jury, as to him may seem best, and thereupon, in his discretion, to discharge the aleged lunatic. Whether any amendments to existing laws relating to the State asylums for the insane be found necessary by you or not, I recommend the private lunatic asylums be brought under some system of heensing by the public authorities. The Legislature should provide for their supervision and frequent visitation. Insamuch as the State permits the detention of insane persons in such private institutions, it is right that the same watenful care should be exercised over persons confined in them

come a great abuse. I recommend the immediate repeal of the general

become a great abuse.

I recommend the immediate repeal of the general town bonding act. Without discussing the policy of this faw, I suggest that aid has already been given to railroads upon the credit of municipalities to quite as great an extent as is wise, and, in some instances, to the oppression of tax-paying communities. Its early repeal is, in my, judgment, important to the general welfare of our people.

In 1370 what is commonly called the Eight Hour law was enacted by the Legislature and approved by me. It provided, among other things, that eight hours should constitute a legal day's work upon all the public works of the State, and that any public officer who should violate or ovade its provisions might be removed by the Governor or by the heads of departments to which such officer was attached. By this act the Legislature intended to noid out the promise, on behalf of the State, to the laborers who might be employed on any public work that they should receive a full day's wages, at current rates, for eight hours' work. The soirth of the promise has not been kept; yet no case has arisen where a removal of a public officer could legally be made. The laborer understood the law to broyide for a reduction of the hours, but not of the wages of labor. The State ought not, under the forms of law, to deceive any portion of its people. Its practice should be in accord with its professions. It demands a general obedience to its statutes, and should itself set the example of strict conformity with its own laws. White the law stands upon the statute book, the professions emoded in it should be made good by such amend-

Under the provisions of a joint resolution of the Legislature passed April 25, 1870, I appointed David A. Weils, George W. Cuyler and Edwin Dodge a commission "to revise the laws for the assessment and collection of taxes;" which commission, in the discharge of its duties, presented a report in February, 1871. The report was so important and exhaustive in its character and so novel in its suggestions, that although I had supplied copies thereof to the Legislatures of the other States, and to municipal bodies in this country and in the British Provinces, yet, notwithstanding the very large edition issued by the State, the report has been twice reprinted, at private cost, to meet the demand for it among the general public, to wit, once in this country and once in Europe; the latter reprint being issued, with a preface by the Secretary of the British Board of Trade, by an association of gentlemen for distribution among the people of Great Britain.

In respect to personal property, the report of the

tem of taxation in this State with be brought down, practically, to an exclusive tax on real estate and bank capital.

Another matter of great importance, to which the Commissioners call attention, is the circumstance that during the last few years the legislation of contiguous states, in respect to local taxation, has been of a much more neeral character than that of New York and that, in consequence, the interests of New York have suffered, and are likely to continue to suffer unless remedial or reciprocal legislation is provided. Thus, for example, the states of Maine and Vermont, and also the British provinces which border upon New York, have either wholly, or for an extended period, exempted manufacturing industry from all taxation. The new Territory of the District of Columbia exempts all evidences of debt, that is, bonds, mortgages, negotiable instruments, &c.; the State of Marjiand, all bonds and mortgages for the city and county of Baltimore; New Jersey, bonds and mortgages for a large part of her territory contiguous to New York; white Pennsylvania, proceeding much farcher in this same direction, has exempted the machinery and capital of manufactures from local taxation, and, practically also in a great degree, her oanking capital, evidences of debt, and all vessels engaged in foreign and domestic commerce.

New York is soon likely to be forced, by considerations of self-interest and self-defence, into giving this whole subject of State taxation carcium attention.

The system recommended by the Commissioners,

this whole subject of State taxation careful attention.

The system recommended by the Commissioners, and of which an outline code has been already submitted to the Legislature, is substantially as follows:

First—To tax real estate in like manner as under existing laws; provisions for enforcing valuation according to a common and well-defined but moderate standard, being at the same time pregerized. It is understood that the Commissioners favor the creation of an office, whose incumbent shall be especially charged with the enforcement of the laws relative to taxation, and be invested with all necessary powers for accomplishing such object, and insuring, so far as possible, equity and uniformity.

the laws relative to taxation, and be invested with all necessary powers for accomplishing such object, and insuring, so far as possible, equity and uniformity.

Second—To tax moneyed corporations of the State in conformity with existing laws.

Third—All experience, and especially the experience of New York, shows that the attempt to tax, directly, property other than such as is embraced under the two before enumerated classes affords httle revenue; it fails in execution and is certain to yield less of revenue in the future than in the past, and above all it discriminates against the industry of New York in comparison with other States. The Commissioners propose as a substitute and equivalent for all such defective taxation to tax the occupier, be he owner or tenant, of any and every building used as a dwelling, or for any other purpose, on a valuation of three times the rental or rental value of the premises occupied, but not including under such assessment any iand except such as the ounding stands on or is essential for access thereto.

All property not embraced under one of these provisions, as above stried, is to be exempt from laxation.

The principles on which the Commissioners have founded this part of their system are stated by them as follows:—

That the market value of real estate is always proportional to and dependent on the amount of personal property, or rather productive capital, placed upon it, or in its immediate vicinity.

Only, therefore, as personal property or productive capital its brought in connection with real estate does its value become appreciable and aggregate of taxation, according to the new system, on the complete ob buildings, will be the lowest in the most spartery settled agricultural districts, and rise through the more density populated portions of the State, from the towns to the villages, from the intert to be cities and from the cities to the great metropolis of the Counter, we shall find that the value of land, of buildings, and the aggregate of taxable valuation will i

articated and the proposed system the agricultural districts would, as now, pay the smallest proportion of the aggregate taxes, and the vilinges and etties as now also the largest, there would be no injustice, but on the contrary one uniform, equitable rule of valuation and assessment. The sum of types tumes he reat of cases trains a taken

careful consideration from both the Legislature and the people.

STREET PROCESSIONS,

The subject of the regulation and control of processions in public streets has been made one of special interest by the unhappy occurrences in the city of New York in July lust. The occupation of the public streets by bodies of men for the purpose of civic as well as military processions has been permitted under a custom so long established that it has come to be looked upon as a common right. The local police must have, of course, great discretionary power in the matter of regulating such processions. It has been the practice of New York city to afford them protection by the presence and escort of part of the police force, without reference to the occurrences which the demonstrations were designed to celebrate, or to the race, color or sentiments, political or religious, of those engaged in the habit, on the eve of an election, of getting up such demonstrations, not only in New York, but throughout the country, with banuers and mostoes indicative of their own views and not unfrequently reflecting with severity upon those of their opponents; all which are looked upon usually by the bystanders of either party in good humor and perfect toleration. Noted events in our own instory have been commemorated by great public demonstrations in the streets, and, in like manner, men of foreign birth or descent have elebrated oc-

ally by the bystanders of either party in good manor and periect toleration. Noted events in our own istory have been commemorated by freat public demonstrations in the streets, arts, in like manner, men of foreign birth or descent have eclebrated occurrences remarkable in the civit, military and religious record of the country from which they sprang, or of the faith and Church in which they sprang, or of the faith and Church in which they and their fathers were educated. This right of procession has been considered to be established by qustom as firmly as the right of free discussion and as is the right of the people "penceably to assemble" by the yonsitution of the United States, and may be regarded, in some sense, as a practical exercise of those rights.

A procession had been proposed for the 12th of July last, to which objection was made by persons housing views adverse to those to be celebrated, and they resolved to prevent it by violence, if necessary. Opponents of the first proposed procession organized another for the same day, with substantially the same time of march. The police of the city, deeming it almost certain that a serious breach of the peace would ensue, and in order to prevent it, forbade both of the proposed demonstrations. The order ropiotiding the processions was not submitted to me by the Police Commissioners for consideration or approval, not did they ask my advice upon the subject. The order was made by them in the exercise of their exclusive discretion. On the afternoon of the day on which the order was Issued and published, which was the day before that proposed for the processions. I received, while at the capital, infrination that the local authorities inought my presence in the city was destrable. I repaired thirtner mm slately and advised that it would be generally recarded as having been made by those in authority in summission to the demand and dictation of those who were not, and as subversive of the equal rights of medical processions, the order was revoked by the same auth

The legislature of a State gas its own proper duties to perform—to wit, that of providing good laws for the internal government of the State, with which the choice of a Senator of the United States has no natural connection, and the members of a State Legislature should be chosen solely with reference to these, their proper duties, and not with reference to these, their proper duties, and not with reference to their probable votes for this or that candidate for Senator.

It is obvious, too, that the distribution of Assembly and Senatorial districts in the state may, at times, be such that a majority of the members of the state in the popular majority in the State. In our resulting the popular majority in the State in a correct with the majority of the people, and who, in such case, does not represent the State at large, as he properly should do. I can see no good reason for devolving election of a Senator upon the Legislature, while the arguments against doing so are many, and, it seems to me, manswerable. The people are quite as capable of electing a Senator by their own direct vote as they are of electing a Governor, and there is no need of electing a Governor, and there is no need of electing a Governor and there is no need of electing a flow-ernor, and there is no need of electing a senator by their own direct vote as they are of electing a flow-ernor, and there is no need of electing a senator of a recorn in the conduct have spoken in a way that the states to any electoral body.

The recent exposure of great wrongs in the administration of the local government of the city of New York has aroused public attention, to an extinct of a recorn in the conduct have spoken in a way that the provided and improvement in the conduction of their local government special provided the provided and improvement in the conduction of their local government general good. The limits of this message in the discussion of the causes which, for a long time, have been contributing to the results recently liaid bare. For many years

commissions in which the city government proper had to see substantially merged, and provided for new departments emoracing every branch of public dury, to ne organized by the Mayor of the city. It restored to the people of the city their constitutional right of local self-government, of which they had been for many years deprived. It defined the responsibility of those in authority, so that, in ease of wrong doing, the people could tell at once upon whom to cast the blame.

It was a first step in reform, casting aside, as it did, a very victous system of government, the evide of which had long been manifest to many and are now manifest to all. It was not an unusual interaction, the control of the cont

the consent of the Mayor to give other places to favorites of the Aidermen.

Though the charter was not all it should have been it was the best that could then be obtained, and it promised relief from great and long-continued wrong under which the people of the city had been suffering and from a system of government the abuses under which are now coming to light. The misconduct recently exposed was not a consequence, from any of its provisions.

The responsibility for the wrongdoing, which has very justly aroused public indignation, does not rest so much upon the charter as upon undividuals, who held office in the city before the charter was passed and took office also under it. The difficulty with the charter, in this connection, is that it provided no means for summary removal from office. The auditing of the alleged claims against the former county government to the extent of six minitions of dollars and unward, to which the public attention has been chiefly directed, was made, not under the charter, but under a clause in the out commonly called the New York county fax levy; a clause perhaps not objectionable in iself, if the powers which it conferred had been fathfully and carefully executed. The annual tax levy of New York should no more be made up by the Legislature passed upon by the Legislature, and this has been the practice for many years to have the city tax levies passed upon by the Legislature, on the present charter and other laws passed at the same time was the aboutton of the practice of bringing the city tax levies the cocasion of great abuse; the estimates of the city authorities being almost always largely increased by the Legislature. One of the good result looked for from the enactment of the present charter and other laws passed at the same time was the aboutton of the practice of bringing the city tax levies are the common treatment to the present charter, but because I would recomment.

nicipal wrongs are not to be cured by the mere passage of a new law, however perfect its structure, and it is certain that any charter framed to promote personal or partisan interests will have, as it deserves to nave, a brief existence.

New York city needs a permanent charter, as well as a good one; one which cannot be nullified or substantially repeated by the surreptitious insertion of a clause in a tax levy, or some other bill, or even by a specific law, with any and overy change in the persons composing the Legislature. The charter of a city of a million inhabitants should be as well considered, as permanent and almost as sacred as the Constitution of a State. It should not only provide for the organization and conduct of the various departments of the local government, and closhe it with power to raise by annual tax the moneys necessary for its maintenance, but it should limit

necessary for its maintenance, but it should innis and resurict its power to oreate deuts, except by the consent of its people, expressed in a formal and authoritative manner, in this respect it would be well if we could mittate in part at least our own state Constitution, which, after providing sinking funds for the payment of existing debts, forbids the exertion of any new indebtedness, except with the express consent of the people, for some single work or object to be specified in the law, which must provide the property of the prope